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Chiricahua

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/For specific information on "the attendant", an older woman of the tribes who acts as a helper and advisor to the girl under-going the Chiricahua puberty ceremony, see category 793 (for specialists in organized religious activities) and 881./

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The old man says, "So, you won't obey? I'm going to check you off right now." The boy cries louder. 861 865

"Now stop that! Listen to me. Come over to me or I'm going to get you." The child is frightened. He tries to crawl behind his father, his mother, or his grandmother. But they act as if they have given the old man the privilege to do what he wants with the boy, and they push the boy forward. Then the old man grabs him and struggles with him. He puts him in the sack and says, "Are you going to behave?"

After that the boy is prompt and behaves. If he won't get wood, his mother says, "All right, I'll call the old man." Then he goes for the wood at once. After the old man works on him like this two or three times, he comes to be a good boy.

These old men look fierce and funny. The children are afraid of them. The old man is never the grandparent. It is always an outsider. The grandparent is there with the parents to see the child get his lesson. [603]

Cowing children by reference to ill-favored old people is not to be confused with a manner of joking practiced for another purpose: 522 887.

An old woman might joke with a little boy, calling him her husband, telling him, "I'll be back tonight and see you," and making all kinds of funny remarks. Here is what is behind it. They say that when an old person jokes like this it will give long life and good luck to a little child. But [for an old person] to joke about this concerning someone of the child's age is not good. It's against the child. [777]

I've been joked at like this. My aunt [a mother's sister; the child's mother had died] used to play this trick on me. She picked out an old woman who was as ugly as anything. She used to say, "I've brought you up and you've got to do what I tell you. You must marry that old woman." The old woman, when she came around, would say, "I missed you last night. Come over to my place and I'll cook for you."

But they never mention relatives when they joke in this way. To do that will give the child bad habits and bad ideas. If you fool like that with a grandmother, you'll get used to being free with relatives. You'll see your own sister over there and have relations with her. You'll turn into a witch. To encourage joking about marriage with relatives is just like teaching your daughter to play cards all the time or to drink whiskey. 522 602 [754]

To return to other disciplinary measures:

For crying children we have some kind of covering. We do not whip the child if we can help it. We put the covering over the child's head and hold it that way until he stops crying. We do this to little children, do it several times until they stop crying. The little children do not like to have anything over their heads. That is one punishment. 865 861

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605 If you hide from your cousin, then anything she has, whether it is money or
834 property, or anything else, she will give to you. You can't refuse a request from a person who hides from you. And it's the same for you if she needs anything.

[183] Since cousin avoidance is voluntary, where it will lead to complications or where the individuals concerned are likely to be thrown together constantly, it is seldom begun.

582 If marriage between cousins is prohibited, is it not difficult, in
602 view of the small population, for a young person to find a suit-
769 able mate? Sometimes this problem does arise, and young men have been known to journey far from their homes for the purpose of making contacts which could lead to marriage. That the issue does not become more serious is due to two factors: the mobility and extensive range of these people and their anxiety to eliminate all mention and memory of the dead. Because of the first factor, families, except for nuclear groups of very close kin, tend to move apart and lose contact with each other. And because the names and antecedents of the departed are seldom mentioned, connections between remoter kin are soon forgotten when the families are separated.

605 When circumstances warrant, the cousin avoidance may be
834 terminated and the more ordinary manner of behavior toward a
182 relative of this degree resumed. The details of the procedure are the same as those governing the abrogation of affinal avoidance.[11]

886 *Grandparent-grandchild relationships.*—The wish for long life
481 and old age is constantly expressed in prayer and ceremonial
782 song. The staff on which the old person leans has become a symbol of this concept. As one commentator wryly observed: "They pray for the old age staff. They say, 'Let me be old, let me have the old age stick.' If you have the old age stick that means you have reached a long life. But when they get it, they don't like it."

888 It is considered a good omen if an old person blesses a child or
887 performs a ceremony over him, for even as this individual's pow-
[787] er and ceremony have preserved him to a ripe age, they may pro-
[852] tect the child for a generous time span. The same notion is pres-
[276] ent in the preparation of the first cigarette. "A person's first

[11] See pp. 174–75.

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cigarette was rolled by an old man or woman. This was done so the person could reach the age of the one who rolled it. The old person prayed and lit it for him."

Age brings prestige, if it is ever to come to an individual. The band leaders are chosen from the most forceful heads of local groups; local group leaders are the most authoritative voices of extended families. Few men who have not lived long enough to rear a large family and to see their daughters marry well head extended families. With his children and grandchildren around him and sons-in-law to do his bidding, a man may establish important alliances and gain political and economic stature. That older persons figure so prominently in the ceremonial and political life is significant for the grandparent-grandchild relations.

The rule of matrilocal residence permits constant contact between the child and his mother's parents. These kin are usually the oldest and, while they retain their vigor, the most respected members of the extended family. The family is the realization of the line they have founded. Their daughters and unmarried sons owe them obedience and deference, and their sons-in-law are bound and subordinated to them by strict social and economic rules.

The maternal grandparents concern themselves in countless ways with the child's development. They are constantly consulted by their daughter on problems of child-rearing. They are present at the first ceremonies held for the baby and contribute whatever is needed for these occasions. It is often one of these grandparents who acts as the cradle-maker and shaman of the cradle ceremony. They may suggest a first name for their grandchild. Their home is always open to him, and it is not unusual for him to sleep there. If his mother dies and his father leaves the extended family because it cannot offer him a suitable mate, the maternal grandparents are likely to rear the child.

My father was left an orphan at about six years of age and was brought up by his grandparent. It was his mother's father who took care of him. This man lived in Chiricahua country. My father lived there with him until he was twelve or fifteen years old. He was with the old man all the time. When he told about it in after years, he said he often wondered why this old man took such an interest in him. He often wondered if he was worth it, worth having so much attention

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want to. While you are out there, you can take up the mask and smoke cigarettes. It's all right. You are just entertaining the people. You don't have to keep away from women during the four nights of the dancing either. 535 [834]

There is great rivalry for the leadership of the masked-dancer groups: 535 578

I was dancing for T. once. E. was going to lead. I was going to be second in line. While we were being painted, E. said, "Watch me. I'm the leader, and the leader is supposed to be the best dancer." I just laughed.

They finished painting us, and T. said, "All right, go ahead." It was dusk by this time. We were late, for the fellows had been late in getting there. We could see the big fire over at the feast grounds. So E. started off. His mask was down over his face. He must have been blinded by the fire, for before you know it he went off the bank and into an arroyo. We could hear him go down, and then he was down there grunting. I had thought he was going wrong. I had the front of my mask pulled up. I knew how to wear it and could pull it up and still have it stay on.

I just laughed and laughed when he went down. I said, "Hey, leader, I can't follow you there." T. went down and got him. He was skinned and the horns of his headdress were broken. T. said, "You fellows go on and dance," and so we went on.

The next day I saw him standing there holding one arm. The news got around, and the people were laughing and calling, "A masked dancer fell in the arroyo! A masked dancer fell in the arroyo!" [522]

Accomplished dancers, in spite of the strenuous nature of the task, are reluctant to withdraw even when they grow old. "E. still dances. They have to pull his skin smooth to put the paint on. It is the same with H.; they have to stretch his skin. But they don't want to give it up." 535 [887]

If a dancer wishes to become a ceremonialist of this rite, his experience as an impersonator "makes it easier for him to learn." One prominent masked-dancer shaman, describing how readily he had mastered the details of his calling, said: "I learned so fast because I had been a dancer right along." [756]

While the masked dancers just described are being painted, another type of impersonator, the clown ("Gray One," "Long Nose," or "White Painted"), is being prepared also: 535 522 [776]

He wears a mask of scraped rawhide. Sometimes they make it with a big nose or big ears. He wears only moccasins and a gee string. The rest of his body is bare and covered with white paint. They say that it is good to be a clown before you dance as a masked dancer. Then you get used to the dances.

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The person who agrees to erect a sweat house is not a true shaman, nor are the rights which are now transmitted from individual to individual explained as a result of some past power experience. Thus, one informant was of the opinion that Child of the Water "gave the custom." And yet the right to build a sweat house is a special prerogative, claimed and controlled by relatively few men.

Not everybody can make a sweat bath. Just certain men can do it—men to whom the knowledge has been handed down. Such a man builds it or directs the building of it. All the while it is being built he sings and prays for it. He handles every movement in connection with it ceremonially, just as he was directed to do when the right was handed down to him. He is present when the sweat bath is used. He is the one who chants the prayer part of the song when the men are inside, though all who are in there join in the refrain. He is usually quite an old man. He sets the rules. You can't just come in and go out as you please. It might be in this man's "way" that you have to stay in there through a certain number of songs. Then you have to do it.

The sweat bath is used for good health, for long life, and to cure sickness. It is usually built near water, and when the songs are finished everybody rushes out and plunges into the water. Very old men who can't do that sit down on the bank and splash water on themselves.

An account of the erection and use of the structure may place the practice in perspective:

Sweat-bathing is for health and good fortune. Deformed people do it a great deal and are massaged when they come out. Usually a sick or deformed man pays one who knows how to put it on, but no special kind of payment is given. Others are invited. But often the man who knows how will just put it on for the benefit of the people. When the announcement is made, many men want to take the sweat bath. Everything else is laid aside. This is a special occasion. Women don't take sweat baths, nor boys before the racing [boy's training] age.

The sweat house could be made any time of year, but it is usually done in the summer. It is dome shaped like the regular house, only smaller. It is about four and a half feet high and about six feet in diameter. The framework is of oak, tied together at the top. The outside is covered with brush and with skins. No smoke hole is left at the top. The door faces the east. On the inside, close to the door and on one side of it, there is a pit for the hot rocks. The man in charge directs the making of this sweat house.

In the morning a person who is sick or deformed and who is going in there prays in his own way. He may say, "I am sick in this manner. I want to get well, and so I am doing this in the right way."

Often they begin about midmorning. Twelve is the most allowed in at one

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a ceremony to save him, an herbalist, a man or woman who knows what plants will help this sickness, may be called in at the same time. In fact, the shaman may advise this. His power may tell him that someone who knows a good plant is needed. I know cases where a man is pretty sick with gonorrhea and they get him well.

Illnesses peculiar to women are treated by a combination of herbalism and ceremonialism often:

If menstruation stops and the woman is not with child, it is a serious disease called "blood is in her." It can cause a woman to die. For this "flint medicine" is used. This is a lightning-riven twig. The wood is chipped off, boiled in water, and the medicine put in a bowl or cup. Whoever gives it marks it with pollen, performs a ceremony with pollen, and then it is drunk. Just people with special knowledge can perform the ceremony.

For pain at the monthly period and for an excessive flow of menstrual blood, this medicine is also given. Sometimes scrapings from a flint or "thunder arrow" are added before it is taken.

So great a scourge is tuberculosis that plants considered effective against it assume much importance, and their use is accompanied by a great deal of ritual. The most highly esteemed specific for this disease is "narrow medicine," *Perezia wrightii*:

"Narrow medicine" is powerful. It is a root which is ground up and put into water. It is not boiled. Water is put in a shallow basket which is lined with pitch to make it watertight. Then the medicine is added to the water, and four hot stones are put in. It is necessary to use four. It foams up when it is heated. There is a prayer, and a cross of pollen is put on the medicine. Then pollen is held to the four directions and put on the head and back of the patient. A cup of the medicine is taken and held to the directions four times. Then the patient drinks. This is good for tuberculosis. Lots of people get well from taking it.

After taking the medicine, the patient lies out in the sun and gets heated up. He vomits up all the tuberculosis. If he doesn't vomit, he has to defecate. It works either way. Sometimes you see the tuberculosis worm alive and about a half inch long. Then the patient starts to regain his health.

This herb has been in use a long time. My great-grandmother used it. If the patient is not too far gone, it works. It is given only once or twice. If you take much of it, it makes you weak. It is very expensive. You give a great many things for it—even a horse.

If the person giving it does not know the secrets of it and puts too much in, the patient will go crazy and kill himself. If you don't know the secrets, even though you know the right amount to give, it will hurt you. Tuberculosis is usually treated by old women who know a good deal about herbs.